DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 193 921 FL 011 855

TITLE	Federally-Financed Research and Communication on Soviet Affairs: Capabilities and Needs. Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States.
INSTITUTION	General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	2 Jul 80
NOTE	44p.
AVAILABLE FROM	General Accounting Office, Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20760 (No. ID-80-48, free)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Area Studies; *Federal Government; Language Proficiency; Needs Assessment; *Personnel Needs; *Public Agencies; Research; *Russian; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Espionage; *USSR

ABSTRACT

A survey was conducted of government agencies in order to examine the capacity of the U. S. Government to produce or obtain by contract the research needed to manage relations with the Soviet Union. Four foreign affairs agencies foresee increasing difficulties through the 1980s in recruiting the desired calibre of Soviet language and research talent. Two also report narrow but notable shortages of research capability in certain exotic languages. All 13 government agencies queried, however, say they can generally get the research they consider necessary to manage relations with the Soviet Union. Disparate perceptions of current and prospective needs in foreign affairs research point up the importance of developing more systematic assessments of both supply and demand. Possible approaches to adequate assessment are outlined. (GAO/JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED193921

BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

Report To The Congress

OF THE UNITED STATES

Federally-Financed Research And Communication On Soviet Affairs: Capabilities And Needs

Four foreign affairs agencies forsee increasing difficulties through the 1980s in recruiting the desired calibre of Soviet language and research talent. Two also report narrow but notable shortages of research capability in certain exotic languages. All 13 Government agencies GAO queried, however, say they can generally get the research they consider necessary to manage relations with the Soviet Union.

Disparate perceptions of current and prospective needs in foreign affairs research point up the importance of developing more systematic assessments of both supply and demand. In Soviet studies, first steps have been taken; others ought to follow.

FL 011 855

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ID-80-48

JULY 2, 1980

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20548

B-199095

To the President of the Senate and the
Speaker of the House of Representatives

This report examines the capacity of the U.S. Government to produce or obtain by contract the research the Nation needs to manage its relations with the Soviet Union and outlines a possible approach to the problem of assessing national needs in this field.

We are sending copies of this report to the Director, Office of Management and Budget; Secretary of State; Secretary of Defense; Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Secretary of Education; Director, International Communication Agency; and Chairman, Board for International Broadcasting.

Milton J. Socolar

Acting Comptroller General
of the United States

COMPTROLLER GENERAL'S
REPORT TO THE CONGRESS

FEDERALLY-FINANCED RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATION ON SOVIET AFFAIRS: CAPABILITIES AND NEEDS

D I G E S T

This report examines the capacity of U.S. Government agencies to produce or obtain by contract the research the Nation needs to manage its relations with the Soviet Union and East Europe and outlines a possible approach to the problem of assessing national needs in this field. (See pp. 1 and 2.)

Four foreign affairs agencies--the State and Defense Departments, Central Intelligence Agency, and Board for International Broadcasting--foresee increasing difficulties through the 1980s in recruiting the desired calibre of Soviet language and research talent. Two of those agencies also report narrow but notable current shortages of research capability in certain exotic languages. (See pp. 4, 5, and 12 through 23.)

At the same time, the Government agencies do not generally confirm, at least in regard to Soviet affairs, a recent finding by the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies that the Government's international research capacity should be substantially augmented. (See pp. 2 through 4 and 12 through 23.)

Perceptions of national need for Soviet research (and foreign affairs research generally) thus vary widely among experts and practitioners. It would be desirable to devise a more systematic means than now exists for assessing such need. For this there are two prerequisites--agreed machinery and standards for determining how much research "is enough," and a "dynamic inventory" capable of displaying and updating information about existing resources. (See pp. 5 through 8.)

Tear Sheet. Upon removal, the report cover date should be noted hereon.

The latter is now being developed by academic specialists in Soviet affairs with Government support. The former--machinery and standards--are inherently more difficult to come by. A public-private mechanism might effectively complement the dynamic inventory. Several of the broad standards it should apply in determining national need are already clear. Recent success in augmenting the Nation's Soviet research capacity illustrates the possibilities of a pragmatic approach to correcting deficiencies in this and other language/area studies. (See pp. 8 through 11.)

Much of the necessary interagency and interdisciplinary coordination of Soviet studies is assured through informal contacts among professionals well known to each other. In addition, several formal mechanisms are maintained to manage the problem of research overlaps both within the Government and between the Government and the private sector, as well as to evaluate Government-financed research plans for any prospective harm to U.S. foreign relations. (See pp. 26 through 34.)

GAO circulated a draft of the report to officials of key Government and private agencies and some academic specialists. Their comments were supportive of GAO's findings and helpful in updating and clarifying GAO's data. (See p. 2.)

Contents

		Page
DIGEST		i
CHAPTER		
1	INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW	1
	Origin and scope of review	1
	Activities, capabilities, and needs	2
	Defining and meeting the needs	5
2	THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES	12
	State Department	12
	Defense Department	15
	Central Intelligence Agency	16
	U.S. International Communication Agency	18
	Board for International Broadcasting-Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty	19
	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	23
	International Research and Exchanges Board	23
	Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Wilson International Center	24
	National Council for Soviet and East European Research	25
3	INTERAGENCY COORDINATION	26
	State Department	26
	Defense Department	30
	Central Intelligence Agency	31
	U.S. International Communication Agency	31
	Board for International Broadcasting-Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty	32
	Arms Control and Disaramament Agency	32
	Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, Inc.	32
APPENDIX		
I	Questionnaire	35

ABBREVIATIONS

AAASS	American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DOD	Department of Defense
GAO	General Accounting Office
INR	Bureau of Intelligence and Research, State Department
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Board
NSC	National Security Council
RFE/RL	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
USICA	United States International Communication Agency
VOA	Voice of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

A Presidential study commission recently reported a serious deterioration in this country's capacity to use foreign languages and conduct research in international affairs. The United States "requires far more reliable capacities to communicate with its allies, analyze the behavior of potential adversaries, and earn the trust and the sympathies of the uncommitted." The gap between those needs and the U.S. ability to deal with other peoples in a changing world, the Commission found, is growing wider. Today, Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is "scandalous" and getting worse. Nothing less is at issue, the Commission said, than the Nation's security. 1/

This report examines the capacity of the U.S. Government to produce or obtain by contract the research it needs to manage its relations with the Soviet Union and East Europe--that is, in the Commission's terms, the Government's capacity to analyze (through research) the behavior of potential adversaries. It also outlines a possible approach to the problem of assessing national needs in this field.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF REVIEW

This review evolved from a request by Senator H. John Heinz, III. The data summarized in this report was collected through interviews and a questionnaire addressed to 13 Government agencies. (The questionnaire is reproduced in appendix I. The agencies, listed in the chart on p. 3, include those primarily concerned with foreign affairs and others having apparent interest in special aspects of foreign countries' activities.) The report provides information about the kinds of in-house and external research sponsored by those agencies, what problems exist, how the research is coordinated within the Government and between the Government and the private sector, and the language capabilities that the agencies currently apply to Soviet/East European research. The data is confined essentially to the agencies' own perceptions of their current and prospective ability to get the research they need. Most of the data applies to the end of fiscal year 1978; it has been updated only where necessitated by significant subsequent change.

1/President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, "Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability," November 1979.

We circulated a draft of the report to officials of the State and Defense Departments, International Communication Agency, Board for International Broadcasting-RFE/RL, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, International Research and Exchanges Board, and National Council for Soviet and East European Research, and to some academic specialists. Their comments were supportive of our findings and helpful in updating and clarifying our data.

ACTIVITIES, CAPABILITIES, AND NEEDS

The field of Soviet and East European studies in the United States after more than 30 years of development, according to the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) encompasses approximately 8,000 individuals and many academic, private, and governmental institutions actively engaged in teaching and research in one or another of the following subjects: anthropology, the arts, economics, education, geography and demography, government, law and politics, history, international relations, languages and linguistics, literature, philosophy, political theory and ideology, psychology, religion, science, and sociology. Under those headings, according to the Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies issued by the AAASS, nearly 6,000 titles are published annually in the United States.

Research on Soviet affairs conducted or sponsored by U.S. Government agencies relates mainly to current issues as they affect U.S. diplomatic and defense policy. Those agencies having essentially domestic responsibilities generally report a limited internal capacity to study Soviet affairs, focused on the specialized issue areas that fall within their operational responsibilities. They rely for much of their source material on reports and translations obtained from the intelligence community and the private sector.

Rounded, approximate, and not always complete Federal expenditures on research in Soviet affairs in fiscal years 1977 and 1978, as stated in the responses to our questionnaire, are set forth in the table on the next page.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided no figures, and the Department of Defense (DOD) figures are necessarily incomplete. Much of the information in both agencies is classified. In addition, DOD explained, much of its research in this field is conducted in a functional context

APPROXIMATE FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR RESEARCH ON SOVIET AFFAIRS

Agency	FY 1977 In-house	FY 1977 Contract/ Grant	FY 1978 In-house	FY 1978 Contract/ Grant
Agriculture	$ 125,000	$ 0	$ 125,000	$ 0
CIA	NA a/	NA	NA	NA
Commerce	633,000	70,000	714,000	71,000
DOD	12,213,000	NA	13,429,000	NA
Energy	831,000	75,000	827,000	85,000
Education	41,000	0	41,000	0
State	766,000	205,000	918,000	293,000
Treasury	0	0	0	0
International Communication Agency	64,000	50,000	95,000	245,000 b/
National Endowment for the Humanities	0	1,933,000 (grants)	0	1,961,000 (grants)
National Science Foundation	0	297,000 (grants)	0	139,000 (grants)
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	585,000	598,000	678,000	459,000
Board for International Broadcasting-RFE/RL	2,747,000 c/	35,400	3,200,000 c/	31,000

a/Not available.

b/Of which some $96,000 to other Federal agencies. USICA notes this was a highly exceptional level of funding, which reverted to a more normal level ($62,500) in fiscal year 1979. USICA's figures do not include exchange grants supporting Soviet/East European research. Such grants to IREX amounted in 1977-1978 to about $1 million.

c/The larger share of this represents RFE's research on East Europe.

by elements which also have similar responsibilities for other, non-Soviet matters. This made it difficult to define a meaningful level of resources devoted to Soviet research of a type comparable to that carried on within the civilian community.

Most of the 13 agencies we queried say that their present Soviet research and language capacity is adequate to serve their specialized purposes. Generally, the functional speciality (e.g., law, economics, medicine) is more important than the language and area specialty. As explained in a recent study of U.S. Government foreign language requirements for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies:

> "Recruiters and personnel officers look for persons who have the necessary academic discipline before they examine an applicant's foreign language skills. Language, though important, as a qualification, is secondary. That statement applies with a few exceptions, such as 1100 interpreters and translators, to all civilian positions in [16] departments and agencies* * *"1/

Of the Federal agencies most directly involved in managing U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and East Europe, however, two acknowledge small but notable gaps in their present language capabilities and four see problems for the future:

--To meet expected requirements, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) says its replacements should include fully proficient specialists in Ukrainian and the Turkic family of languages, "perhaps by enlarging the staff by one or two." To replace its aging cadre of Soviet specialists in the 1980s, it anticipates the need of a concerted effort.

--DOD similarly anticipates the need of an expanded and continuing effort in order to make up for the reduced emphasis on Soviet studies in American universities. It expressed even greater concern that this diminished emphasis may eventually reduce the "size of the group of well prepared Soviet specialists upon which the Department will be able to draw in selecting highly qualified individuals to staff both the collection and research organizations in the future."

1/President's Commission, Background Papers, p. 204.

--CIA is finding a dwindling number of applicants who are proficient in foreign languages and is experiencing difficulty in staffing language-designated positions.

--The Board for International Broadcasting-Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reports a need both to fill certain existing research slots and to add others. Radio Free Europe's research department needs a slot for one analyst of East German affairs and would have to add one researcher for each of its present five national sections in order to deal with a growing backlog of incoming raw material. Radio Liberty reports that to provide "minimum viable research," it should increase research talent covering its 14 non-Russian language services. Both RFE and RL face substantial replacement requirements in the 1980s.

DEFINING AND MEETING THE NEEDS

Our data thus generally confirms, in the field of Soviet research, the finding of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies that the decline of language and area studies in American education is expected to make it more difficult in the future for U.S. Government agencies to recruit the desired calibre of research talent. It also confirms the existence of certain gaps--narrow but highly specialized--in language and research capability.

With respect at least to the needs perceived by both the foreign affairs and the domestic agencies in the field of Soviet and East European research, however, the agency responses to our questionnaire do not support the Commission's assertion that the Government's capacity to meet its international research needs should be substantially augmented. We asked agencies to "outline your current capacity to interpret and analyze work done in the Soviet languages, indicating whether you have enough capacity, need more, etc." and to assess any prospective shortages of Soviet specialists in the 1980s. The agencies replied, as noted above, that with minor exceptions their present research and language capacity is adequate and that they expect to meet foreseeable needs, albeit with increasing difficulty.

In this regard, our data on Soviet/East European research parallels the information reported by the Rand Corporation in its recent study of the supply and demand for foreign language and international studies specialists in the United States. 1/ Prepared at the request of the President's Commission, the Rand report says that in the absence of crises, most of the foreign affairs agencies contacted believed they had adequate numbers and quality of foreign language and international skills. Rand's Government respondents "showed no inclination to change hiring requirements, internal training policies, or overseas assignment policies" for the purpose of raising international competence. Government (and business) demand for area specialists, Rand concluded, remains relatively stable (while supply is increasing slightly and academic openings are declining).

Such agency responses appear, however, to be at odds with other information. For example:

--Some Government officials in both the Rand interviews and our own expressed concern that the Government is underinvested in basic research (designed to explore subjects that are not immediately or demonstrably policy relevant) and in long-term analysis (designed to put current issues in better perspective).

--In recent congressional testimony, the Director of Central Intelligence acknowledged difficulties in filling positions that require foreign language-qualified personnel.

--A recent "market study" by a State Department public opinion analyst found that among the bureaus and other in-house users of the Department's external research, 72 percent indicated a need for more research and 32 percent for much more. In the past 2 fiscal years, according to a Department official, bureau requests for external research were more than double the total ($1.5 million) annual budget allocation.

--According to one recognized authority we consulted, research on Soviet affairs gives insufficient attention to the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and to a number of disciplines including education, the arts, anthropology, sociology, and religion. This, he argues, adversely affects the balance and

---

1/"Foreign Language and International Studies Specialists: the Marketplace and National Policy," September 1979.

quality of U.S. intelligence: "We simply do not understand others very well if we concentrate on economics and the military and the obvious political disciplines but neglect the other more basic ones."

--The President's Commission (contemplating the full range of foreign affairs education and research and reflecting predominantly academic views) found an immediate need for the expenditure of $178 million in new Federal assistance to American schools at all levels, including the establishment of up to 155 new foreign affairs study centers, buttressed by several hundred new fellowships and other facilities.

Thus, perceptions of need for Soviet research (and foreign affairs research generally) vary widely among experts and practitioners. Determining national need in foreign affairs education and research, we noted in a recent report to the Congress, 1/ is both an imperative objective and an intractable problem. As the Rand report comments:

"So many factors go into the attainment or failure of a national objective that it is virtually impossible to point a finger at either the importance or the inconsequentiality of specialists to the outcome."

Yet it is conceivable that the current market demand for specialists and their work does not accurately reflect a level of research and expertise adequate to the requirements of national security and well being. The Rand report correctly notes that:

"Deciding whether specialist supply and demand is a problem that impinges on national objectives to the point of warranting political intervention is a value question, properly resolved by political processes."

We believe it would be desirable to devise a more systematic means than now exists for assessing national need in order to guide and inform those political processes.

To that end, in Soviet studies (and in other area studies) there are logically two prerequisites: agreed standards

---

1/"Study of Foreign Languages and Related Areas: Federal Support, Administration, Need" (ID-78-46 Sept. 13, 1978, p. 17).

for determining how much research (qualitatively and quantitatively) "is enough" and an inventory capable of displaying and updating information about existing resources (specialists and projects).

The latter prerequisite--a sort of who's who and what's what in Soviet/East European studies and research--now appears on the way to fulfillment. Under grants from what is now the Department of Education, the AAASS has been developing since mid-1977 a "Dynamic Inventory" of Soviet and East European Studies in the United States. The computerized inventory is expected to embrace, in at least 15 disciplines, all individuals and institutions having a professional interest in Soviet and East European affairs. Its biographical, bibliographical, curricular, and institutional information would be organized, cross classified, and periodically updated to reveal "the state of the field"--its size, structure, capabilities, and trends, and its ability both to fulfill needs in general education and to develop and meet new demands for research. 1/

The second prerequisite for determining need in this field--agreed standards for determining "how much is enough"--will be more difficult to come by. National need, as the Rand study suggests in a thoughtful discussion of the various meanings that public discussion has assigned to that concept, can be broadly defined in either of two ways--as market demand (the number of specialist jobs and vacancies currently occupied by or available to specialists) or supply shortages. Shortages in turn can refer to one of three things: (1) market disequilibria (caused by an increase in demand or decline in supply, or by nonmarket factors such as a hiring freeze that preclude adjustment of supply and demand); (2) a desire for specialists but no means to pay for them; or (3) a normative belief that for security or other reasons the Nation ought to have more specialists than it now uses.

The Commission's report consistently reflects this third sense of national need, well expressed in the rhetorical question of one of its members, "If we're so threatened by the Soviets that we're prepared to spend upwards of $35 billion

---

1/Department of Education officials believe that if this project proves successful, it should serve as the model for developing similar dynamic inventories for other world regions. Such inventories, the officials anticipate, will help them adjust their own grant contributions to language/area education and research under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act.

on an MX system, do we really have enough, or almost enough people studying and analysing their behavior?" He adds that in this regard "* * *there is a lesson to be learned from what the Soviets are doing in developing and staffing a complex of research institutes that will blanket every area of the world."

The President's Commission recommended establishment of a Federal Council on International Research and Training comprising representatives of Government and the private sector, to set policies for external Government-funded foreign affairs research awards, assess the needs and improve the effectiveness of international training and research, and help obtain the necessary funds.

We believe that the principle underlying this proposal is sound but that--in the interest of testing cost-effectiveness--it might best be launched initially on a narrower front. This might entail, if undertaken in the field of Soviet/East European research, complementing the data base or dynamic inventory now being developed by AAASS with a public-private mechanism designed to develop criteria and procedures for assessing needs in broad national security terms and making recommendations to both Government and the private sector regarding appropriate adjustments in the kinds and extent of research and training.

While the procedure would be considerably less scientific than, say, diagnosing a medical problem, it might be expected to yield a more realistic approximation of need in this field than either the current workings of the market or the promptings of unsubstantiated "normative" judgments. Some of the broad criteria that should apply to such an exercise are already clear. They include, for example: due weight not only to policy relevant research but tc the claims of both basic research and long-term analysis, as defined above; maintenance as well as development of language-area skills; long-term support of selected specialists with exotic language-area credentials--what one authority has called a limited "endangered species" strategy for "marginal competencies" of current or potential national importance; and, as to method, step-by-step adjustments of programs on the basis of specifically identified gaps in useful or potentially useful knowledge or skills.

It was a pragmatic approach of this sort that led recently to the creation of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research: a need and a customer were identified; a supply mechanism was devised; funds were committed. Initial results, only now beginning to appear, seem promising. In this instance a Deputy Secretary of Defense had concluded

that DOD was asking a range of important questions about the Soviet economy, society, and leadership and was not getting timely or adequate answers. This led to discussions between DOD and State Department representatives and leading Soviet specialists from American universities. Establishment of the Council followed in 1978, with initial annual grants from DOD and State respectively of $500,000 and $50,000. The arrangement, described in chapter 2, brings the independent research efforts of qualified academic specialists to bear in broad areas of interest identified by the participating Government agencies.

The President's Commission suggested that the Council might provide the model for creating a national body to promote area and other international study across the board. For the reason indicated, we believe such an experiment should be undertaken initially on the smaller, regional scale we have described.

The approach we envisage might find productive applications in other important issues raised by the President's Commission. Its report provides, for example, a troubling insight into the decline of undergraduate and secondary school enrollments in foreign language courses and offers a wide range of remedies, including improvements in the quality of instruction and a program of incentive "capitation" grants to boost such enrollments. A pragmatic approach would concentrate on a limited number of manageable projects having the prospect of a payoff that would be relatively prompt, substantial, and susceptible to evaluation. The undergraduate year of study abroad is one such possibility. It reaches individuals at relatively formative yet responsible ages; capitalizes on some measure of pre-existing interest and motivation; provides authentic, first-hand language and cultural instruction under conditions of near-total immersion; and lasts long enough to produce enduring skills and interests. The study year abroad comprised fewer than 25,000 American undergraduates in 1977-1978--the vast majority of them in Western Europe. Due to steeply rising costs of higher education generally and of overseas travel and living costs in particular, the program may be entering a period of steep decline. There is thus a case to be made for a Federal incentive program--via grants, loans, or tax credits--to promote a selective expansion of that program. Present constraints on Federal spending commend such a case-by-case approach to the resolution of demonstrable deficiencies in U.S. language and international studies.

In the next chapter, we take a closer look at the Soviet research activities, capabilities, and needs of the U.S. foreign affairs agencies. A final chapter examines interagency coordination of such activities. We have meanwhile

completed a separate review of the way in which the Government determines what positions require language proficiency for any purpose and how effectively it is able to fill them. 1/

1/"More Competence in Foreign Languages Needed by Federal Personnel Working Overseas," (ID-80-31, Apr. 15, 1980).

CHAPTER 2

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES

This chapter summarizes the activities, capabilities, and needs of those U.S. foreign affairs agencies that sponsor in-house and/or external research on Soviet and East European affairs. It also covers four nongovernmental organizations that are partly or fully funded by the Government. 1/

STATE DEPARTMENT

A State Department internal survey in 1978 indicated that State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research spends some 98 percent of the Department's funds that are devoted to Soviet research, totalling $1,211,000 in 1978. Of this $918,000 was in-house research. The balance, some $293,000 covered INR contracts with other Federal agencies, academic institutions, private corporations, and individual consultants.

About half of the State Department's in-house research concerning the Soviet Union is performed by INR's Office of Research and Analysis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Sixteen of its 28-person staff work on political aspects of Soviet affairs, including international relations, the leadership, and various domestic issues.

The other principal State Department research offices heavily concerned with U.S.-Soviet relations are also part of INR:

--Office of Strategic Affairs whose 6-person equivalent concentrates on Strategic Arms Limitations Talks and other nuclear matters (22-23 percent of inhouse research);

--Office of Political-Military Affairs whose 4-person equivalent focuses primarily on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions and conventional arms transfers;

1/Related information can be found in Steven A. Grant, Scholars Guide to Washington, D.C. Russian/Soviet Studies, published in 1977 by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The Guide summarizes the research activities, conditions of access, and bibliographic resources of 35 Federal agencies, and 36 nongovernmental research centers, academic programs, and other institutions in the Washington area.

--Communist Affairs Division of the Office of Economic Research whose 4-person staff deals primarily with foreign economic relations; and

--Office of External Research whose 2-person equivalent staff handles external contracts and other arrangements. 1/

The Foreign Service Institute's Soviet specialist staff is primarily an area and language training group.

Most of State's outside contracts are let on the basis of research requests made by its policy bureaus, especially the Bureau of European Affairs. Recently, in addition, State co-sponsored with DOD a consortium of universities, the National Council for Soviet and East European Research mentioned above and discussed at the end of this chapter.

INR has 21 officers competent in the languages of the Soviet Union. Of these 17 are Russian speakers in the Office of Research and Analysis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The other primary Soviet languages other than German 2/ represented in INR as of late 1978 were Moldavian (Romanian)--two speakers, and Ukrainian and Armenian--one each.

State reports that by and large INR has enough speakers of Soviet languages, with the notable exception of fluent Ukrainian and the Turkic family of languages. Those offices with few language speakers work primarily on military related matters where functional specialization is more important than language competence.

All offices, and especially those without language-competent personnel, can and do call upon CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information Service and Joint Publications Research Service for assistance.

Of the 513 State Department officers having some competence in Soviet languages, 78 are currently assigned to positions requiring those skills--42 in our Soviet embassy and consulates, 15 in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Bureau

---

1/Office of External Research was recently renamed Office of Long-Range Assessments and Research.

2/There are approximately 1.8 million ethnic Germans residing in the Soviet Union. The State Department has some 1,160 German speakers.

of European Affairs, and, as noted above, 21 in INR. Ten others are in training for language-rated assignments. None of the 492 officers outside of INR is engaged in research, though many have advanced degrees and are competent to do so. INR's Soviet specialists are almost exclusively engaged in current work. While all are deemed capable of mid-term or long-term research (defined in our questionnaire as, respectively, up to 2 years and 2 years or more), they must, given present priorities, rely on the work in other agencies and especially outside of the Government for the longer perspectives.

The State Department does not anticipate a shortage of Soviet specialists in the 1980s provided it continues its present level of training. It believes, however, that

> "* * *a concerted effort will be necessary to ensure an adequate supply of highly-qualified, well-motivated candidates for positions in our Embassy in Moscow, at our Consulates in the Soviet Union, in EUR [Bureau of European Affairs] and INR, and in Soviet-related jobs in other bureaus of the Department, as well as in [other] agencies employing Foreign Service personnel."

Since the summer of 1977, a Committee including representatives of Personnel, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, and more recently INR and Office of Research and Analysis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, has been meeting to develop a program to attain these goals. At present in-house training is limited to Russian and Ukrainian. Should posts be opened in other minority areas of the Soviet Union--a dim prospect at the moment--other language/area training would be provided.

Some 90 percent of INR's officers who are competent in Soviet languages are non-Foreign Service Officers. (Most are classified as Foreign Service Reserve or Foreign Service Reserve Unlimited.) Most have served, lived, and/or traveled widely in the Soviet Union. They are, however, an aging cadre, averaging in the mid-forties, with most senior analysts and supervisors in the mid-fifties. In a decade most will have retired. Within existing personnel ceilings, current policy calls for increasing the share of FSOs in INR offices generally from one-third to one-half. This has been slow and difficult because of the emphasis the Foreign Service places on operations as opposed to research. Replacement by non-Foreign Service Officers currently takes about one year. While INR does not anticipate "major personnel gaps" in the 1980s, it does foresee long delays in filling vacancies, and

some decline in expertise as reflected in work experience. To meet anticipated requirements for fully proficient Ukrainian and Turkic language specialists, State suggested the desirability of enlarging INR's staff by one or two.

INR plays a major role (discussed in ch. 3) in coordinating American studies of the Soviet Union, both within the Government and between the Government and the private sector.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

In DOD, research on the Soviet Union is carried on principally by the Defense Intelligence Agency and the intelligence organizations of the Armed Services. These elements also sponsor research by Federal contract research centers or private organizations for use in net assessments, net technical assessments or other specific studies. A limited amount of "academic style" research is conducted by students and staff of the National Defense University, the Service War Colleges and other schools.

Most DOD research on Soviet affairs is concerned with current issues, intended to support decisionmaking, and is frequently "time-sensitive." It focuses on military capabilities, emphasizes technological or other specialized aspects of weapons or force development, and is usually highly classified. While some of this work is carried on by organizations or personnel devoted exclusively to Soviet affairs, much of it is carried on in a functional context by elements which also have similar responsibilities for other, non-Soviet, matters.

Defense research analysts usually begin their work with already processed source materials, whether these are translations of original material or detailed exploitation of electronic, photographic or other information. They often work closely with those who do the processing. For these and other reasons, as noted in the previous chapter, it is difficult to separate and define a precise or meaningful level of DOD resources devoted to Soviet research of a type comparable to research that is done outside the Department.

There have, however, been some recent modest increases in the resources devoted to the research element of DOD most comparable to civil research organizations--the production (as distinct from collection) component of the Defense Intelligence Agency, whose Soviet research is related to current events, political-military affairs and military capabilities. In fiscal year 1978, that component employed 259 civilian and 127 military professional researchers at a cost of $11,800,000 in pay. In addition, the Federal Research

Division expends some 66 staff years and $1,629,000 on research of open materials available through the Library of Congress.

Language needs for DOD research in Soviet affairs are not great, since, as noted, most such work begins from already translated original source material. This material is obtained from the various collection organizations of the Government, from small in-house translation sections which also use contract assistance, and from the vast amount of material translated, abstracted and made available by numerous academic and private research support services. Within DOD's intelligence organizations more than 500 military and civilian employees have some proficiency in Russian. In-house or contract proficiency in the minority Soviet languages ranges from fewer than 5 persons in some of the Central Asian tongues to about 50 for the Indo-European languages.

DOD thus relies mainly on outside translation support. DOD's and its Armed Services' collection organizations currently have on contract over 2,000 Russian linguists, and DOD reported that it has "an immediate requirement for a significant increase in such persons." While DOD expected to meet that requirement, it reported that:

> "* * *The reduced emphasis on Soviet studies and Russian language training in the academic community is expected to place an expanded and continued training burden on the Department. Of even greater concern, however, with respect to the reduced emphasis on Soviet studies and languages in the academic community, is the potentially reduced size of the group of well prepared Soviet specialists upon which the Department will be able to draw in selecting highly qualified individuals to staff both the collection and research organizations in the future."

As noted above, DOD for this reason anticipates a need to expand its own training in order to meet future requirements.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

The CIA's National Foreign Assessment Center conducts its own studies and maintains contact with other agencies "with a view toward eliminating duplication of effort and filling gaps in Community research."

Like other components of the intelligence community, CIA's National Foreign Assessment Center draws extensively

on research done on the Soviet Union by academic and other private research institutions. Its professionals routinely attend conferences and seminars on their areas of specialization, and many take additional graduate work as well.

The CIA library has routinely purchased works on the Soviet Union (in Russian and English)--technical books, collections of scientific papers by academicians, books on industrial mangement, agronomy, communications, meteorology, mining, regional travel, history, geography, industry, economics, weapons, civil defense, nuclear energy, laws, and guidebooks. Special emphasis is placed on science and technology and military matters--ranging from Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to Soviet civil defense. CIA also continues to emphasize the acquisition of books on economic conditions, commerce, and national production, and works on Soviet political theory. Listings of unclassified CIA publications are made available to the public through the Library of Congress Documents Expediting Project.

Information on CIA's Soviet language/area research capabilities was not included in its response to our questionnaire. In a statement to the House Subcommittee on International Operations in 1978, the Director of Central Intelligence said the intelligence community has been fortunate in being able to recruit highly competent, well-prepared new employees. He expressed concern, however, over the dwindling number of applicants and of new employees with foreign language proficiency and reported difficulty in staffing positions that require foreign language-qualified personnel.

The CIA has also voiced its concern over the state of American research in one area of Soviet activity over which CIA lacks jurisdiction--Soviet propaganda activities in the United States. In a recent report, 1/ we concurred and suggested that "a comprehensive, periodic, published analysis of Soviet propaganda in the United States" would tend to put Soviet purposes in clearer perspective, make the American public and press less vulnerable to Soviet deception, and perhaps even deter some of the more flagrant Soviet propaganda abuses, such as the letters the Soviet secret service forges to misrepresent U.S. policy and discredit U.S. officials.

1/"The Public Diplomacy of Other Countries: Implications for the United States" (ID-79-28, July 23, 1979, pp. 51-52).

U.S. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY

USICA's Soviet studies program, like that of the other agencies, is a direct function of its operational responsibilities. USICA's mission, broadly stated, is to help assure that the values, purposes, and policies of the United States are correctly understood by the rest of the world and that U.S. policies take appropriate account of the public opinion of other nations. To this a "second mandate" was added when USICA was created through the merger in 1978 of the U.S. Information Agency and the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The second mandate, as stated in President Carter's mission statement of March 13, 1978, is to help give Americans "the opportunity to understand the histories, cultures and problems" of other nations.

In accordance with those missions, research at USICA and its predecessors has included projects to

--probe foreign public opinion and attitudes and assess their prospective significance for U.S. foreign policy and programs;

--measure the exposure of foreign publics to USICA products ranging from personal exchange contacts to exhibits, publications, and Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts;

--evaluate the impact of USICA programs on foreign opinion and attitudes regarding international issues and U.S. objectives; and

--clarify aspects of what, in current USICA jargon, is called the "bilateral communication process."

Past research projects bearing on the Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet relations have dealt with such matters as VOA language priorities, future USICA requirements in communication technology, assessment of USICA media products and field programs, Soviet and East European media treatment of numerous international issues, the size and characteristics of VOA listenership in the Soviet Union, Soviet public reactions to U.S. exhibits, and Soviet information and cultural activities in major world regions.

Current research plans contemplate efforts to obtain fresh insights into the learning habits and attitudes of elites in the Soviet Union and other areas subject to government censorship. This will include a study of "Soviet Perceptions of the U.S. Through the Filter of Soviet Translation and Criticism of American Literature and Drama;" and

several analyses of key Soviet influence groups, such as economists, sociologists, and historians. Seminars and debriefings for Soviet exchange participants will seek insights into changes in Soviet society, the state of the professions in the Soviet Union, and the value of the exchange experience.

USICA's research staff includes two full-time Soviet analysts plus one full-time research assistant. All are specialists on the Soviet Union, are competent primarily in Russian and secondarily in Ukrainian, and are qualified to conduct original research as well as monitor that done by others. No one currently on the staff has a working knowledge of any of the major Caucasian, Central Asian, or Baltic languages.

Staff capacity to use research materials in the various Soviet languages has been supplemented through the assistance of individual linguists assigned elsewhere in USICA--for example, VOA scanning and partial translation for Soviet Exhibit Comment Book entries in Georgian and Uzbek; cooperation with the linguists and translation services of State, Foreign Broadcast Information Service-Joint Publications Research Service, Library of Congress; and spot translations prepared by individuals under purchase order.

Since 1952 USICA has published "Problems of Communism," a widely respected bimonthly journal offering scholarly analysis of contemporary affairs in the Soviet Union, China, and related states and movements. Its articles and book reviews, written by leading American and foreign scholars, are addressed to specialists in academia, government, the media, labor, business, the armed forces and other groups. Its officially defined function is "to sustain a universe of discourse among those experts around the world who brief a broad range of national decision-makers* * *." One of the few USICA products for which the Congress has approved distribution in the United States, "Problems of Communism" has a worldwide circulation of 28,000. Of the 5,000 distributed in the United States, some 900 go to Federal Depository Libraries, 1,000 to Government agencies, and the balance to paid subscribers.

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING-
RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

RFE/RL is a private American corporation, not a Government agency, but is funded by the Government, through the Board for International Broadcasting. RFE/RL's research is designed to support its broadcasting of news and news analysis but is available to and widely used by scholars and writers in private and government organizations in the United

States and abroad. RL broadcasts to the Soviet Union and RFE to five countries in East Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria).

RFE's Research and Analysis Department is the largest center in the West for research on East European and Communist affairs. Its staff of 60 includes several internationally recognized experts, authors of books and articles on various aspects of the subject.

The basis of RFE's research activities is the archives maintained and continuously updated in its five East European national sections. These sections receive some 500 newspapers and periodicals--metropolitan and provincial as well as some limited-circulation, specialized journals--from their respective countries covering a wide range of subjects: political, economic, commercial, cultural, international, sociological, etc. Each section also receives, via RFE/RL's Central News Division, East European national wire service materials. A wealth of additional information, often unavailable from any other source, comes through the combined monitoring operation of RFE and RL, which records broadcasts of metropolitan and provincial radio stations throughout the Soviet Union and East Europe. RFE also keeps track of Western press and wire service reports on Eastern Europe as well as Western academic journals. All research sections together have biographical material on between 350,000 and 400,000 personalities.

RFE's research covers the internal situation in the five countries to which it broadcasts their relations with the Soviet Union and with each other, Comecon and Warsaw Pact development, the Yugoslav situation, developments in the world Communist movement, East-West relations, summaries of "samizdat" (unauthorized, "self-published" writing), and comparative, across-the-board studies. The research output includes:

--Situation Reports--Issued normally once a week for each country, containing anywhere from 3 to 8 items on topical subjects. In 1978, RFE published 678 Situation Report items averaging 2-1/2 pages each.

--Background Reports--Issued on an ad hoc basis, dealing usually with themes of broader significance. In 1978, RFE published 285 Background Reports averaging 5 to 6 pages each. Recently a periodic survey, with translated excerpts, of Polish samizdat has been issued.

--Media Surveys--Included in the series of Background Reports are English translations of important East European press articles, also done on an ad hoc basis.

RL's research staff numbered 28 as of early 1980 including Western-trained and emigre analysts backed up by screeners, archivists, and editorial personnel.

Radio Liberty Research screens some 400 newspapers and periodicals, most of which are in Russian or in other languages of the Soviet Union. Other primary sources of information, like those of RFE, include the monitored transcripts of Soviet and East European radio broadcasts, and data supplied by the Central News Division, which has access to the major wire services. These materials serve as sources for current analysis and for long-term research projects and are filed in the Red Archive (Krasny Arkhiv). With over 2 million entries by subject and name, this archive is one of the world's largest repositories of information on current Soviet developments.

Two forms of RL research are published for external as well as internal consumption:

--Radio Liberty Research Bulletin, published each week in English, consists primarily of analyses of current Soviet developments. About 400 formal reports are issued each year. The Bulletin also prints current biographic listings of All-Union and Republic Party and government personnel as well as Radio Liberty scripts of particular interest to other broadcasting desks of RFE/RL and to outside readers.

--Current Abstracts and Annotations is published every 2 weeks in English and serves to highlight--and to record for the archives--the most significant items screened by the research staff. It also includes abstracts and reviews of Soviet and Western articles, books and other published materials.

The RL Samizdat Archive, established in 1968, is probably the largest depository of samizdat from the Soviet Union in the West. The staff prepares retyped, annotated samizdat materials which appear in the bulletin "Materialy Samizdata" (about 40 issues a year).

RFE/RL language capabilities

RFE's Research and Analysis Department reports having language capability for its five countries of broadcast that it considers adequate to cover all important areas of East

Europe, with the notable exception of East Germany. It has no slot for an East German analyst and "definitely needs one." Including its team of 7 senior American analysts, its language staff for research includes 7 in Bulgarian, 8 in Czech and/or Slovak, 10 in Hungarian, 12 in Polish, 8 in Romanian, and 2 in Serbo-Croatian.

RFE reports, however, a serious shortage of personnel to process a growing volume of incoming raw material (e.g., print media, radio monitoring, and samizdat). Backlogs of such material range from 2 months to almost a year. "The addition of one more researcher to each of the five national sections would probably solve this problem, which directly affects [the research department's] ability to service programing promptly and reliably."

As to the future, RFE reports that:

> "* * *A serious recruitment effort will have to be made in the 1980s to replace large numbers of retiring staff (6 of the present 8 members of the Hungarian national section, for instance, will have retired by 1984). If some of our recruiting attempts in the past couple of years are any guide, it may not be all too easy to find specialists suited to our particular needs."

RL's research staff all have command of Russian, half as native speakers. Of these, one can work in Ukrainian, and two have some reading knowledge of Uzbek. RL reports, however, major problems in finding Western-trained personnel for supervisory and broadcast analysis jobs as well as research to cover the seven Muslim and two Caucasian nationalities that are among its audiences. 1/

In addition to the above kinds of research capability, both RFE and RL maintain separate offices to conduct research on the audiences, including media habits as well as a limited program of attitudinal studies.

With funds from nongovernmental contributions, RFE/RL last year began a program of summer research internships and resident fellowships which is expected to improve recruitment prospects as well as promote a more adequate exploitation of its samizdat and other materials.

1/RL's languages, in order of broadcast priority, are: Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Armenian, Georgian, Azeri, Belorussian, Tatar-Bashkir, Kazak, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Tajik, Turkmen, and Kirghiz.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency reports that it has a capability to interpret and analyze material in Russian, adequate to its needs. Most in-house studies of Soviet matters rely on secondary sources, such as published data furnished by other Government agencies or under contract. When a document in Russian is used, the translation normally is made for the Agency by the State Department under an administrative agreement between the two agencies. Similarly, State provides professional Russian language interpreters for the arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union in which the Agency is involved.

As of June 30, 1978, approximately 12 members of the Agency staff were familiar with the Russian language. None had capability in the other Soviet languages. None of these who know Russian were fully engaged in work requiring Soviet language proficiency. The Agency does not employ Soviet experts to conduct mid-term or long-term research, and in 1979 joined the Department of State and DOD in cosponsoring the National Council mentioned above and discussed at the end of this chapter. The Agency does not anticipate a shortage of Soviet expertise in the 1980s.

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD

The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), established in 1968 by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, administers a variety of academic exchange and related programs with the countries of East Central and Southeastern Europe and the Soviet Union on behalf of scholars in the United States. (During the decade preceding 1968, such exchanges were managed by IREX's predecessor organization, the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants.)

IREX research exchanges are open to scholars at the advanced graduate student level and above in all fields. About half the IREX budget of more than $4 million a year is devoted to research exchanges with the Soviet Union; the balance with Eastern Europe. In its 1978-1979 program year, Soviet research exchanges involved 70 Americans and 71 Soviets; the East European research exchanges involved 53 Americans and 67 East Europeans. In the aggregate the exchanges in that year accounted for more than 800 months of participation, making IREX, according to its Executive Director, the largest nongovernmental sponsor of Soviet research in the United States.

More than half of its funds are provided by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the USICA, with additional funds contributed by several foundations. IREX reports that it is now the primary "developer" of research in disciplines "underrepresented" in Soviet studies in this country. An IREX bibliography lists some 3,000 publications turned out by the U.S. participants during the first 20 years of the exchanges.

KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR
ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES,
WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, of which the Kennan Institute is a division, was established by the Congress in 1968 "within but not under" the Smithsonian Institution as the Nation's official memorial to its 28th President.

The Institute was created in 1975 by the Wilson Center to promote advanced research on the Soviet Union, and to bring scholars in this field into closer contact with interested persons from government, industry, and the press. It pursues those objectives through a program of fellowships for senior scholars, a program of short-term grants for younger researchers, the holding of conferences and seminars on critical issues, and a series of basic publications and Occasional Papers. In the short time since its establishment, the Institute has gained recognition in the United States and abroad as a leading center of Soviet studies.

Since the Institute's Fellows and Visiting Scholars are appointed for terms of up to only one year, its capability in Soviet languages varies over time. All its Fellows, however, have a fluent or near fluent command of Russian and several have advanced competence in one or more of the other Soviet languages.

The Institute's budget in 1978 was $277,813, to which the Smithsonian and the Wilson Center added an estimated $100,000 for such support costs as contracting, bookkeeping, legal counsel and use of the premises. The Institute's budget is largely met through grants and gifts from foundations, corporations, and individuals. All but some $86,000 of it is devoted to in-house research on Soviet affairs and to communicating the results of that research to the the relevant publics.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH

The private, not-for-profit National Council for Soviet and East European Research was established in February 1978 with initial funding from DOD and the State Department "to develop and sustain a long-term substantial and high-quality program of fundamental research dealing with major policy issues and questions of Soviet and East European social, political, economic, and historical development." The Council, temporarily housed in Harvard University, is an independent corporation under District of Columbia law. Its Board of Trustees comprises 16 leading American academic specialists in Soviet and East European affairs from 15 of the country's major research institutions.

The Council, as noted in chapter 1, grew out of concern in the Government and among scholars over the decline in American research and research capability in Soviet affairs. The initial grants of DOD and State were respectively $500,000 and $50,000. In 1979, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency also became a contributor with a grant of $100,000.

The Council awards contracts to senior academic and other specialists for long- and short-term research which may include support for research-related meetings, pilot studies, graduate assistants, and other research aids. It does not itself conduct research nor issue the results of research in its own name. Council guidelines rule out projects requiring classification or otherwise precluding open publication of the research products. Funds are sought from a variety of Federal agencies.

The Council, according to its Executive Director, has adopted three long-term objectives: (1) to provide information, interpretation, and policy recommendations to the Council's funding agencies; (2) to check the national decline in post-doctoral research on the Soviet Union and East Europe; and (3) to help ensure the development and availability of a cadre of highly competent professionals in the field to step into the shoes of the postwar generation of specialists. The broad subject areas of research to be sponsored by the Council are formulated in close consultation with its funding agencies, but its work is not a substitute for direct contracting by agencies for research on topics precisely defined by Government.

CHAPTER 3

INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

Much of the necessary interagency and interdisciplinary coordination of Soviet studies is sought through informal contacts among professionals well known to each other. In addition, several formal mechanisms are maintained to manage the problem of research overlaps both within the Government and between the Government and the private sector, as well as to evaluate Government-financed research plans for their propriety and prospective impact on U.S. foreign relations. 1/

STATE DEPARTMENT

In 1965, following the ill-fated Project Camelot of that year, a Presidential directive made the Secretary of State responsible "to assure the propriety of Government-sponsored social science research in the area of foreign policy." (Research in the physical sciences is reviewed for propriety by the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs.)

To carry out that directive the Department of State Research Council was established under the chairmanship of the Director of INR. The Council comprises, in addition to the chairman, the Director of the Policy and Planning Staff, the Legal Advisor, and, as appropriate, representatives of the Council's regional and functional bureaus. The Council's sole purpose is to review plans for external Government-sponsored social science research to avoid adverse effects

---

1/The arrangements described in this chapter apply unless otherwise indicated to Government-sponsored research in foreign affairs, of which research in Soviet and East European affairs is a part. Present arrangements reflect a number of changes in interagency coordination that were put into effect following publication of our 1971 report, "Need for Improved Review and Coordination of the Foreign Affairs Aspects of Federal Research," (B-171564). For example, in accordance with our recommendations, expenditures for such research have increased (in "inconstant" dollars from about $21 million in fiscal year 1970 to more than $40 million in 1978); domestic agencies have been incorporated in procedures for advance State Department review of potentially "sensitive" research projects; and State has promulgated criteria by which agencies identify projects subject to such review.

on U.S. foreign relations. (In-house research is specifically excluded from this process.)

Under State Department policies and procedures, all foreign affairs research projects sponsored by the foreign affairs (including military) agencies that at any stage involve foreign travel or contact with foreign nationals in the United States or abroad must be submitted for review. (Domestic affairs agencies must determine for themselves which of their projects should be submitted for review.) Agency projects are considered cleared unless the Council informs the agency otherwise within 15 working days. An agency may request reconsideration and if that fails the agency head "may consult with the Secretary of State."

Potentially sensitive projects are those which involve foreign travel or contacts with foreign nationals and which

--"deal with the authority, effectiveness, or policies of a foreign government, with the nature and relationships of politically significant internal institutions, or with the attitude of the people toward the government (especially if the government is characterized by instability);

--"involve large-scale or formalized surveys or interviews; or

--"are conducted by large teams or which cover extensive or remote areas of a foreign country."

Projects that involve neither foreign travel nor contact with foreign nationals may also be sensitive if they deal with subjects under active negotiation or currently in dispute.

Between late 1965 and March 1977, 1,099 projects were reviewed for sensitivity. Of those 81 percent were cleared or cleared conditionally and 2.6 percent were disapproved. The remainder were withdrawn or deemed not to require review.

Under State Department procedures and criteria, agency representatives are responsible for collecting information on projects their agencies propose to support, making determinations as to which projects require Council clearance, and submitting appropriate project information to the Council for review before a contract is signed or a grant awarded. All agency representatives are also expected to supply annual

funding information on their agencies' programs, serve as facilitators of cooperative projects, and otherwise be available for consultation on matters of interagency coordination.

In addition, under an April 27, 1977, memorandum to all Federal department and agency heads from the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the Secretary of State has "the responsibility for the coordination of foreign affairs external research, formerly handled by the NSC [National Security Council] Under Secretaries Committee * * *" The memorandum adds:

> "The Secretary has designated the Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research to represent him in discharging this continuing responsibility, which includes information exchange, documentation, publication and other activities required to minimize duplication of effort; joint funding; measures to assure quality, utility, and availability; and other matters requiring interagency consultation."

Under the NSC memorandum, State is responsible for working with 28 Federal agencies to assure an appropriate flow of information about their planned, ongoing, and completed external research in foreign affairs.

To that end, INR convened an interagency meeting in December 1977 which approved a written statement of policies and procedures governing not only the sensitivity reviews discussed above but also an enumeration of agency responsibilities for the timely reporting of all external research projects, the submission of completed studies for inclusion in State's Foreign Affairs Research Documentation Center, 1/

1/From 1964 to 1979, the Foreign Affairs Research Documentation Center collected and made available to Government and other researchers studies produced under Government-funded research awards as well as unpublished research papers contributed by individual scholars, universities, and research centers. It published a monthly accessions list, "Foreign Affairs Research Papers Available." The Center was closed on September 30, 1979 for budgetary reasons. Its collection of some 13,000 papers (75 percent of which are the products of independent research) has been turned over to DOD's Defense Technical Information Center. The latter in turn will normally furnish all unrestricted Government-sponsored studies to the National Technical Information Service of the Department of Commerce, whose collection is made available to the general public at nominal cost.

the annual collection and submission of funding information on their external research programs, and the promotion of cooperative interagency projects. No further meeting of that Interagency Committee on Foreign Affairs Research has been held to date and none is deemed necessary. Each of the 28 agencies that have joined State in the coordination effort has designated an official to carry out the agreed responsibilities. This interagency network, INR reported, is able without regular formal meetings to serve its prescribed coordination purposes, namely

> * * * *to minimize duplication of effort; to facilitate joint funding and other arrangements for cooperative projects; to enhance the quality, utility and availability of research products; to provide an overview of the allocation of resources; and to avoid research activities that will have adverse effects on U.S. foreign relations."

The Director of State's Office of External Research advises that no serious case of duplication in Government-sponsored research has come to his attention. The interagency network also has proved useful in promoting a growing body of interagency research, but only on a project-by-project basis. He believes joint research on a program-by-program basis would be desirable but would be possible only if the lead agency (presumably State) were given the "clout" in Federal foreign affairs research that would come with a substantial budget for that purpose.

The unclassified information collected by State's Office of External Research from the other agencies and from within State is published in "Government-Sponsored Research on Foreign Affairs: A Quarterly Report of Project Information." Classified projects are reported in "Government-Sponsored Research on Foreign Affairs: A Report of Project Information." Until 1977 the data on unclassified projects was published annually. As a result of a State Department questionnaire to the 1,369 agencies and officials on its mailing list, the publication was converted to a quarterly. The 358 respondents checked the following ways in which they used the publications:

--locate studies useful in my current work (274);

--identify researchers potentially helpful to my projects (133);

--locate officers in other bureaus or agencies knowledgeable about my areas of concern (102); and

--check for possible duplication before initiating new research projects (57).

Various other purposes were specified by 32 respondents. Only 61 said they were not using the publication and requested removal from the mailing list.

In its efforts to assure coordination of Soviet and all other foreign affairs research, INR also

--takes part in the National Foreign Intelligence Board, which coordinates current and long-term national intelligence products dealing with the Soviet Union (a responsibility that takes 10 to 25 percent of the time of INR's various offices);

--participates in multidisciplinary and interagency studies on such subjects as Soviet defense spending, civil defense, succession problems, overall objectives;

--manages/coordinates the Department's own external research program, including those of the Office of the Geographer and the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs;

--encourages its researchers to follow pertinent outside research, maintain professional contacts, and take part in various scholarly associations and colloquia; and

--contributes to and helps coordinate a variety of intelligence community publications, including the National Intelligence Daily, Interagency Intelligence Memoranda, and National Intelligence Estimates.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Extensive procedures are reportedly in force to coordinate DOD Soviet research within the Department and, as discussed above, with other agencies. In-house, the Defense Intelligence Agency manages the General Defense Intelligence Program, of which the plans and budget for Soviet research are a part. The Defense Intelligence Agency assigns responsibility for, and reviews and authorizes publication of, all Defense scientific and technical intelligence. It coordinates the research and production of a variety of Defense-wide intelligence estimates, planning documents, and assessments. Coordination is further served by the heads of the various DOD organizations meeting as the Military Intelligence Board. As a result, DOD reports,

"Where duplication exists in research efforts within the Intelligence Community, it is directed toward validating the work of others prior to coordination of sensitive issues or to providing alternative views on matters of significance."

A DOD directive governs procedures for review, coordination and approval of annual study plans and the maintenance and exchange of data to avoid undesirable duplication in both internal and external study efforts. The Defense Technical Information Center provides bibliographies and access to copies of studies conducted by and for DOD.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

CIA points out that senior Government policymakers have jointly enumerated the intelligence matters of particular concern to them, and the various agencies of the intelligence community are charged with ensuring that their research is responsive to these concerns. As noted in chapter 2, CIA's National Foreign Assessment Center maintains contact with other agencies for coordination purposes. Coordination is provided in part through interagency intelligence production programs. CIA-produced finished intelligence that appears in intelligence community products (such as National Intelligence Estimates, Interagency Intelligence Memoranda, and the National Intelligence Daily) "is coordinated with all members of the Intelligence Community within the limits imposed by timeliness. Dissenting views are clearly set forth."

U.S. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY

Office of Research projects under consideration in USICA are discussed informally with scholars and research specialists within and outside the Government. Approved research projects are cleared through the normal channels of the Department of State Research Council. Informal coordination with the academic community is maintained principally through the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and the International Research and Exchanges Board.

Recently, the Office of Research organized a seminar of Washington area Soviet specialists on Soviet-American disarmament questions, including the role of elites and Soviet public opinion in the formation of Soviet policy in this field. This discussion was largely restricted to research under way or projected, capabilities of various agencies, and themes not being researched for which there was felt an urgent need. The Office of Research, in cooperation with the Smithsonian, also sponsored a day-long conference on policy implications

of demographic and social change in Soviet Central Asia which brought together leading academic and government specialists. In both cases, representatives from State, CIA, NSC, and the Library of Congress participated.

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING-
RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

RFE/RL's research personnel seek to maintain contact with professional colleagues and their work throughout the world. They participate actively in scholarly forums in Western Europe, the United States and Canada and publish in specialized journals. The two research departments receive many visits and information requests from Western scholars and journalists.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Coordination by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency with other agencies in any area of arms control, including those related to the Soviet Union, is accomplished through informal and continuing personal contacts with specialists in other agencies and the private sector, and through its regular use of information from the intelligence and the academic communities. In addition, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency participates in working groups of the NSC Special Coordinating Committee which deal with U.S. policies affecting ongoing and projected arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. Its project officers are required to coordinate all research proposals with agencies in similar work.

SMITHSONIAN SCIENCE
INFORMATION EXCHANGE, INC.

The Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, Inc., gives the national research community a comprehensive, computerized source of prepublication information about research programs and projects that are planned or actually in progress in the biomedical, social, behavioral, physical, and engineering sciences. The Exchange, located in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1948 by a number of Federal agencies for the purpose of coordinating and communicating research programing. The number of participating agencies and organizations has grown steadily through the years and now stands at some 1,300.

Most Federal research programs, as well as those of a substantial number of private foundations, professional organizations, industries, and local governments are now included. Both Federal and non-Federal users pay a nominal fee for services. Approximately 100,000 notices of research projects are received and processed annually. These records in most cases are prepared by principal investigators and updated each year.

Registration of foreign research is limited but growing. Each record fed into the Exchange's computer data bank contains a brief technical summary of the program in question together with other essential information, including principal investigators, where the work is taking place, pertinent dates, and sources of support.

The research recorded in this continually updated system covers basic and applied work across a full spectrum of subjects: agriculture, behavioral science, biology, chemistry, earth science, electronics, engineering, materials, mathematics, medicine, social science, and physics. The current file, which covers the past two Government fiscal years, contains records on more than 200,000 ongoing or recently completed projects. Services offered include searches of the file by technical subject field, by performing or funding organizations, and computations that indicate the amount of funding by year. The service can provide printed publications, special assignments on contract, and on-line printouts to customers having terminals.

When the State Department converted its annual catalogue of Government-sponsored foreign affairs research to a quarterly in 1977, it made a contract with the Exchange under which the latter receives the data from the agencies on its standard form and provides State with a camera-ready printout. In a magazine format running to some 40 pages per issue, the quarterly describes each project in some 200 words--including objective and approach, supporting organization, investigator, name and telephone number of the agency action officer, and cost figures. This data is listed alphabetically by sponsoring agency and is supplemented by indexes according to subject, region and country, supporting organization, investigator, and performing organization.

Illustratively, an issue of "Government-Sponsored Research on Foreign Affairs" describes the following external research projects concerning the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as reported by sponsoring agencies of the Federal Government in the second quarter of fiscal year 1979:

--"Soviet and East European Research"

--"Use of Economic Statistics by Soviet Leaders"

--"Support of Soviet Military Affairs"

--"Kennan Institute [Wilson Center] Colloquia on Soviet Affairs"

--"German Russians in the USSR" and

--"Potential for Cooperative Grain and Oilseed Trade with Selected Eastern European Countries".

All functions of the Smithsonian Science Information Exchange will be transferred to the Commerce Department's National Technical Information Service as of October 1980.

APPENDIX I

UNITED STATES GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20548

INTERNATIONAL DIVISION

October 24, 1978

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
The Secretary of State

Attention: Director, GAO Liaison Staff

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Senator H. John Heinz III has asked us to solicit from selected agencies/offices information about how Federal research dollars are spent to study the Soviet Union. After consulting with the Senator's staff, we agreed to ask you and several others to respond to the matters outlined below. Senator Heinz is eager to receive this information; therefore, we are asking for your response within 30 days from the date of this letter. We would appreciate it if you would indicate the person we could contact if further information or clarification is desired.

The areas of inquiry are:

1. FUNDING

   a. List the amounts your agency has spent for Soviet research performed inhouse for fiscal years 1977 and 1978. (If estimated, please note)

   b. List the amounts your agency has spent for Soviet research performed outside; that is, research you have contracted out to other Federal agencies, universities, study centers, etc., for fiscal years 1977 and 1978. Please provide the amounts for each category. (If estimated, please note)

2. CURRENT CAPACITY TO WORK IN SOVIET LANGUAGES

   a. Outline your current capacity to interpret and analyze work done in the Soviet

languages, indicating whether you have enough capacity, need more, etc. List the outside sources you use.

b. If possible, tell us the number of individuals in your agency that, as of June 30, 1978, could adequately work in each of the Soviet languages, particularly those of the minority languages. Of these individuals, indicate the number that were fully engaged in work requiring their Soviet language specialty.

c. Discuss the availability of Soviet experts employed by your agency to conduct mid-term (up to 2 years) research, and long term (2 years or more) research, and those that do.

3. FUTURE CAPACITY TO WORK IN SOVIET LANGUAGES

Give an assessment of whether your agency will be experiencing a shortage of Soviet specialists in the 1980s. If so, please elaborate.

4. COORDINATION (Use examples, if possible)

a. Describe how your agency coordinates with other executive agencies involved in the study of the Soviet Union, including your agency's role, if any, in the interagency coordination effort. Also, discuss the extent of coordination among individuals involved in various types of research; that is, research in the social, physical, and military sciences.

b. Outline the extent, if any, of your agency's knowledge or use of research which is ongoing or completed by sources financed by other than Federal Government funds.

c. List documents you publish, contribute to, or otherwise use for coordinating purposes.

We appreciate your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please contact Mr. William B. Ludwick, Assistant Director, on 632-1588.

Sincerely yours,

Frank C. Conahan
Associate Director

(467350)